

Appendix to Chapter 8: The typology and classification of French-based creoles. A global study

I. The 66 selected features for the analyses

Categories (S)

1. Definite article. (29). +: present; -: absent
2. Deictics. (43). +: distinction between 'ici'/'laba'; -: no distinction
3. Existential copula. (34). +: realized with 'se'; -: realized with 'sa'
4. Existentiality. (40). +: expressed with 'gagner'; -: expressed differently
5. Existentiality. (40). +: expressed with 'na(na)'; -: expressed differently
6. Nominal copula. (3). +: present; -: absent
7. Partitive article. (1). +: present; -: absent
8. Plural marker. (29). +: expressed as 3PL; -: expressed as INDEF
9. 3rd singular pronoun neuter subject. (17). +: expressed as pronoun; -: expressed as demonstrative
10. Verbal copula. (5). +: present; -: absent

Historical (F)

11. Agglutinated article. (2). +: present; -: absent

Nominal syntax (S)

12. Plural marker. (29). +: preposed; -: postposed
13. Possession. (42). +: [possessed of possessor]; -: juxtaposition
14. Possessive pronoun. (1). +: preposed; -: postposed

Phonetics / Phonology (F)

15. Consonant realization. (40). 'dan'. +: '(an)dan'; -: 'nan'
16. Depalatalization in 'chanter'. (20). +: present; -: absent
17. Final consonant in 'case'. (2). +: realized with /z/; -: realized with /j/
18. Initial consonant cluster in 'trois' (1): +: present; -: absent
19. Nasal vowel in 1st personal pronoun singular subject. (18). +: present; -: absent
20. Nasalized vowel in 'comme'. (7). +: present; -: absent
21. Postvocalic R in 'marcher'. (44). +: present; -: absent
22. Vowel realization in 'cheval'. (48). +: realized with a back vowel; -: realized with a schwa
23. Vowel realization in 'hier'. (13). +: realized as '(i/a)jèr'; -: realized as 'ièr'

Semantics (F)

24. Meronymy. (45). +: 'maïs' expressed as 'grain'; -: 'maïs' not expressed as 'grain'
25. Nominal conjunction. (30). +: realized with 'et (pi)'; -: realized with 'avec'
26. Q-word. (4). 'where'. +: derived from 'où'; -: derived from 'côté'

Sentential syntax (S)

27. Comparison. (16). +: expressed with 'passé'; expressed differently
28. Complementation. (19). +: with 'pou'; -: without COMPL

29. Expression of 'it's as though'. (38). +: expressed predicatively; -: expressed adverbially
30. Infinitive. (17). +: expressed with 'pou'; -: expressed differently
31. Predicate cleft. (50). +: present; -: absent
32. Q-word. (36). 'how'. +: bimorphemic; -: monomorphemic
33. Q-word. (37). 'why'. +: synthetic; -: periphrastic
34. Reciprocity. (47). +: expressed pronominally only; -: expressed otherwise
35. Relativizer k(i). (34). +: present; -: absent
36. 3rd person singular possessive subject. (10). +: identical with 3rd person pronoun singular object; -: different form
37. Verb fronting for emphasis. (44). +: present; -: absent
38. Word order. (33). +: DEM/N; -: N/DEM

Specific forms (F)

39. Aphaeresis. (32). 'demander'. +: present; -: absent
40. Benefactive 'for'. (21). +: expressed with 'pou'; -: expressed with 'ba'
41. Demonstrative. (33). +: expressed with 'sa'; -: expressed with 'la'
42. Lexicon. (12). 'car'. +: expressed as 'auto'; -: expressed differently
43. Lexicon. (15). 'to quarrell'. +: expressed as 'babiller'; -: expressed differently
44. Lexicon. (19). 'to like'. +: derived from 'content'; -: derived from 'aimer'
45. Lexicon. (20). +: 'chanson' expressed as 'chanson'; -: 'chanson' expressed as 'chanté'
46. Lexicon. (34). 'to talk'. +: expressed as 'parler'; -: expressed as 'causer'
47. Lexicon. (41). 'se battre'. +: expressed as 'goume(n)'; -: expressed differently
48. Lexicon. (45). 'to grind'. +: expressed as 'krazé'; -: expressed as 'pilé'
49. Lexicon. (49). 'still'. +: expressed as 'ankor'; -: expressed as 'toujours'
50. Plural marker. (29). +: expressed as 3PL; -: expressed differently
51. Question marker 'esk(i)'. (14). +: present; -: absent
52. Question tags. (38). +: present; -: absent
53. 3rd person singular. (21). +: realized with the full form; -: realized with elision
54. 3rd personal pronoun plural. (7). +: expressed with 'zot'; -: expressed with yo(n)
55. 3rd possessive pronoun plural. (12). +: expressed with 'zot'; -: expressed with 'yo'
56. 2nd personal pronoun singular subject. (39). +: identical with 2nd personal pronoun singular object; -: different form

Tense, mood and aspect (S)

57. Completive aspect. (26). +: expressed with 'fini'; -: expressed with '(dé)ja'
58. Conditional. (31). 'should have'. +: expressed as ANT+COMPL; -: expressed differently
59. Continuous aspect. (35). +: expressed with 'toujours'; -: expressed differently
60. Future completive. (28). +: expressed as FUT+COMPL; -: expressed differently
61. Future completive. (28). +: expressed by combination of TMA markers; -: not expressed by combination of TMA markers
62. Future tense. (11). +: expressed with 'pou'; -: expressed with 'ka'
63. Habitual. (8). +: present; -: absent
64. Negated completive aspect. (27). +: expressed as 'pas encore'; -: not expressed as 'pas encore'

65. Negated habitual. (21). +: expressed as NEG+TMA; -: expressed as NEG only
 66. Progressive aspect. (22). +: expressed with (a)p(u/e); -: expressed with ka

II. Translations of the 50 questions in Hancock's (1987) questionnaire in the 12 French-based creoles selected for the present study

1. Three of his friends were there [locative de [=there], pluralisation, possession]

MAU trwa so ban kamwad ti la / trwa so bann kamarad ti la
 REU troi son bann dalon lété la
 SEY trwa son bann zanmi ti la
 LOU twa de so ami te la
 HAI twa nã zãmi l jo te la / twa nan zanmi li yo té la
 GWA twa zãmi-a-i te la / twa zanmi a'y té la
 DOM twa frenn-li te la
 MAR twa kanmarad-li té la
 STL twa an sé jan'y-lan té la
 TRI twa zanmi-li té la
 GUY trois de zo anmi-a té la
 TAY na trwa parmi tle kamarad pu lja sa sola ete la

2. My father's house [Possessive construction NP+NP]

MAU lakaz mo papa / mo papa so lakaz
 REU la kaz mon papa
 SEY lakaz mon papa
 LOU la mezõ dõ ma pẽr / la mezõ pẽr / la mezõ dõ mõ pẽr
 HAI kaj papa m / kay papa mwen
 GWA kaz a (p)apa-mwẽ / kaz a pap'an mwen
 DOM kaz papa mwen
 MAR kay papa mwen
 STL kay papa mwen
 TRI lakay papa-mwen
 GUY kaz mo papa / kaz di mo papa
 TAY mesõ pu papa pu mwa

3. He's my partner [Nominal copula]

MAU li mo partner
 REU li lé mon dalon
 SEY i mon zanmi
 LOU li mo kamarad
 HAI li se zãmi m / li se kãmarad mwẽ / li sé zanmi mwen
 GWA i se zãmi ã mwẽ / i se kãmad ã mwẽ
 DOM i se padna mwen
 MAR sé kanmarad-mwen
 STL i sé jan mwen / i sé patna mwen
 TRI li sé kanmawad-mwen / li sé konpè-mwen
 GUY a mo kanmarad / zanmi / i sé mo zanmi

TAY lja-la, se asosje pu mwa / le asosje pu mwa lja

4. Where is he? [Nominal-derived adverbial]

MAU kot li (ete)?
REU ousa li lé ?
SEY oli li? / kote i ete?
LOU eu li je?
HAI kote l(i) (je) / ki kote l(i) je
GWA ola i (je) / eti i (je) / oti i (je) / (ki) kote i (je)
DOM ola i ye?
MAR eti-y?
STL ki koté i yé?
TRI éti li yé?
GUY koté i yé? / koté i fika?
TAY le u lka?

5. She's all right [Verbal copula]

MAU li korek
REU el lé bien / èl lé an bone sante
SEY i byen
LOU li bjě
HAI li bjě / li pa pli mal
GWA i bjě
DOM i bien
MAR i byen
STL i byen
TRI li dakò/ li byen
GUY i byen
TAY le bō twa u kwa?

6. Nothing's happening [Negation of nothing; existential there's]

MAU narjě pa pe arive
REU napoin rien i ariv
SEY naryen pa pe arive
LOU -
HAI ājě pa pase / pa gen anyen kap pasé
GWA ajě pa ka pase / ajě pa ka fèt / hak pa ka pase / pani ayen ki ka fèt
DOM anyen pa ka fet
MAR ayen pa ka fèt / pani ayen ka fèt
STL anyen pa ka fèt
TRI ayen pa ka fèt
GUY annyen / angnen pa ka pasé
TAY na pa kekefos le arive a twa

7. They're not like that [Preverbal negator]

MAU zot pa kumsa

REU banna lé pa konm sa / zot lé pa konm sa, zot
 SEY zot pa koumsa
 LOU je pa kòm sa
 HAI jo pa kōsa / se pa kōsa jo je
 GWA jo pa kōsa / se pa kōsa jo je
 DOM yo pa kon sa
 MAR yo pa konsa
 STL yo pa kon sa
 TRI sé pa kon sa yo yé
 GUY yé pa komsa
 TAY le pa parej sola

8. She sees her brother (on weekends) [Habitual aspect]

MAU li zwen (ek) so frer dā wiken
 REU el i artrouv son frér (tou lé ouikinn)
 SEY i war son frer (dan wikenn)
 LOU li wa so frē: su lə weekend
 HAI li wε frē l nã fē d semēn/wikēn / li wé frè li chak wikenn
 GWA i ka vwe fwε-a-j ā lefēdsmeñ
 DOM i ka vwe fwe'y le finisman simenn
 MAR tout fendsimèn i ka wè frè-y
 STL i ka wè fwè'y (an finisman simenn-an)
 TRI li ka wè fwè-i nan wikenn-an
 GUY i ka wè so frè
 TAY la war frer pu lja

9. She sees her brother (by the door) [Punctual/progressive aspect]

MAU li zwen so frer kot laport / li pe trouv so frer (divan laport)
 REU el i voi son frér (dovan padport)
 SEY i war son frer (obor laport)
 LOU li wa so frē a la pōrt
 HAI li wε frē l nã pōt la
 GWA i ka vwe fwε-a-j kote pōt-la / i ka vwe fwε-a-j owa pōt-la
 DOM i ka vwe fwe'y bo la pot la
 MAR i ka wè fré-y bò lapot-la
 STL i wè fwè'y (bò lapòt-la)
 TRI li ka wè fwè-i bò lapòt-la
 GUY i ka wè so frè bòd lapòt-a
 TAY fam-la la war frer pu lja akote laport

10. His mother is calling him [Possessive pronominal forms; punctual/progressive aspect]

MAU so mama pe apel li
 REU son moman i kriy ali
 SEY son manman pe apel li
 LOU so momã e pele (pele) li

HAI māmā l ap rele l
 GWA mamā-ā-j ka krije i / āmā-ā-j ka rele i / amā-ā-j ka hele i / manman'y ka kriyé'y
 DOM manman'y ka kouye'y
 MAR manman-y ka kriyé-y
 STL manman'y ka kwiyé'y
 TRI maman-i ka kwiyé i
 GUY so manman ka aplé li
 TAY mater pu lja la ātrāde aple lja

11. I will go soon [Future construction; expression of soon]

MAU mo pu ale la / mo pou ale byento
 REU mi tard pa po alé mon kaz.
 SEY mon pe/pou ale byento
 LOU mo ale aster
 HAI m pral(e) talé / talé m prale / talè mwen pral pati
 GWA ā ka pati tale / ā kaj pati tale
 DOM mwen ke ale toutale
 MAR man ka pati talè
 STL mwen ka pati touswit
 TRI mwen ké alé talè
 GUY mo ké chapé talò
 TAY frer, mā bjāto parti, le bjāto ler

12. Their car [Possessive third person plural pronoun]

MAU zot loto / ban-la zot loto
 REU zot loto
 SEY zot loto
 LOU je fa
 HAI mafin jo / loto yo
 GWA vwati-a-jo / loto-a-jo
 DOM motoka yo
 MAR loto-yo
 STL machin yo
 TRI motoka-yo
 GUY yé oto
 TAY loto pu sola/dela

13. I walked along there yesterday [Past action]

MAU mo ti mars laba jer / mo fin mars ziska laba yer
 REU iyér moin la vni promné térla
 SEY mon ti al marse la yer / mon ti pas laba yer
 LOU mo marfe pa(r) la jer
 HAI je m pase la / m pase la je
 GWA je ā pase la / ā pase la je / mwē pase kotesit je / an ponmné mwen la yè
 DOM mwen mashe la ye
 MAR iyè mwen ponmné-mwen la

STL mwen maché isi-a yè / mwen pasé isi-a yè
 TRI mwen té maché alapòté la yè
 GUY mo pronmennen la ayè
 TAY ma ete a pje laba jer

14. Am I right? [Fronting with na/da/a/iz]

MAU (eski) mo ena rezon?
 REU moin na rézon? / ou di moin la rézon?
 SEY eski mon byen? / mon annan rezon?
 LOU mo bjê?
 HAI eske m gë rezō / eske mwen gen rezon?
 GWA es ã ni rezō? / an pa ni rézon?
 DOM es mwen korek?
 MAR es man ni rézon?
 STL ès mwen dwèt?
 TRI mwen ni wézon?
 GUY es mo gen rézon?
 TAY ma di sa kom sa a twa, me ma pa sir si se vre, (tu) sa ma di.

15. She quarreled with her [Pronominal gender; with or along of; object pronominal form]

MAU li ti lager ek li / li fin lager ar li
 REU el la pran in priz de gèl sanm èl / el la rant dan son volan / el la anmayé sanm èl / el la dispit sanm èl
 SEY i ti dispit ek li
 LOU li komers avek li
 HAI li zure ave l
 GWA i babije eve j / i babije evε j / i babyé èvè'y yè
 DOM i babye eve'y
 MAR i babyé épi-y
 STL i babyé épi'y
 TRI li babyé avèk i
 GUY i babyé ké li
 TAY ma pase laba, epi ma ekute fam-la pi mari pu lja dela dispit

16. Whose child is smaller than mine? [Comparative construction; possessive absolute forms]

MAU piti kisenla ki pli piti ki (seki) pu mwa? / ki zanfàn pli piti ki pou mwa?
 REU kisa nana in zanfàn pli pti k lamiène?
 SEY lekel ki annan piti pli pti ki pour mwan?
 LOU ki piti e plys piti(t) konm moken
 HAI ki timun ki pi piti pase pa m nã / kimoun gen yon timou pi piti passé pa'm lan?
 GWA aki timun-la ki pli piti ki tã mwê-la? / timun-la ki piti pase tã mwê-la la, se ta kimun? / se ta kimun, timun-la ki piti pase tã mwê-la la? / kimoun ki ni on ti moun pli piti ki tan mwen ?
 DOM ki zanfàn pli piti ki sa mwen?

MAR ki moun ki ni an ich pli piti ki ta mwen ?
 STL ti manmay ki moun ki pli piti pas  san mwen-an?
 TRI ki moun yich, pli piti pas  sla-mwen?
 GUY ki moun ki gen roun pitit pli piti pas  mopa?
 TAY se peti pu ki sa le pli f li ke peti pu mwa?

17. You (pl.) have got to do it [Form of you plural; hortative mood]

MAU zot biz  fer li
 REU i fo ou f  ali / ou doi f  ali
 SEY zot bezwen fer li
 LOU to g j  pu fe sa
 HAI nu dwe f  l / f k nu f  l
 GWA f (k) u fe sa / u dw t f  sa / u pu f  sa / f  z t f 'y
 DOM zo ni pou f 'y
 MAR z t dw  f -y
 STL z t ni pou f 'y
 TRI z t ni pou f  sa
 GUY z t div t f  l'
 TAY uso besw  de fe sa / (v)ude, bude besw  fe sa

18. I have tasted it [Completive aspect]

MAU mo n gut li / mo fin gout li
 REU moin la pran inp 
 SEY mon'n goute
 LOU mo te g j  gute sa
 HAI m(w ) gute l
 GWA   gute j
 DOM mwen goute'y
 MAR mwen gout -y
 STL mwen ja gout 'y
 TRI mwen ja gout  i
 GUY mo gout  l'
 TAY ta war pate laba, ma fini mw f 

19. I like to dance [Preverbal to]

MAU mo k t  d se
 REU mi  me bien dans 
 SEY mon kontan danse
 LOU mo lem/lem /leme pu d se
 HAI m(w ) r m  d se
 GWA   eme d se / mw  r me d se /   k t  d se / an enm  dans 
 DOM mwen enmen danse
 MAR mwen enmen dans 
 STL mwen enmen dans 
 TRI mwen enmen dans 
 GUY mo kontan dans 

TAY ma ule dâse

20. I have a song for you (pl.) to sing [For before infinitive following nominal obligation]

MAU mo ena en sâte pu zot sâte

REU moin nana in shanté/shan/shanson/morso po fé shant aou

SEY mon annan en sanson pour ou

LOU mo gējē ã fāsã pu twa pu fâte

HAI m gē jô fâte pu nu fâte / mwen gen yon ti chanson pou nou chante

GWA ã ni ô fāsô ba zot pu pe fâte / ã ni ô fâte pu zot fâte / an ni on ti chanté pou mwen fè zòt chanté

DOM mwen ni yon shante pou zo shante

MAR mwen ni an ti chanson mwen fè zot chanté

STL mwen ni an chanson bay zòt pou chanté

TRI mwen ni yon chanson pou zòt chanté

GUY mo gen roun chanté pou fè zòt chanté

TAY na ã fâte pu mwa, sa ma ule pu usot fâte

21. She doesn't sing for us [Negated habitual aspect; benefactive give]

MAU li pa sât pu nu

REU la pa po ou èl i shant

SEY i pa sant pour nou

LOU li pa fâte pu nuzot

HAI li p ap fâte pu nu / li pa chanté pou nou

GWA i pa ka fâte ba nu / i pa ka fâte bã nu

DOM i pa ka shante ba nou

MAR i pa ka chanté ba nou

STL i pa ka chanté ban nou

TRI li pa chanté pou nou

GUY i pa ka chanté pou nou

TAY ta war mek laba la pa travaj pu mwa

22. She isn't singing [Negated progressive aspect]

MAU li pa pe sâte

REU el lé pa (a)po shanté / èl lé pa antrin de shanté / èl i shant pa èl, la

SEY i pa pe sante

LOU li pa fâte

HAI li p ap fâte / li pa ap chanté

GWA i pa ka fâte / i pa ka chanté alè la

DOM i pa ka shante

MAR sé pa chanté i ka chanté, non

STL i pa ka chanté

TRI li pa ka chanté

GUY i pa ka chanté

TAY la pa ãtrã de fâte

23. She didn't sing [Negated past; see notes for sentence 13]

MAU li pa ti sâte / li pa fin sante
REU èl la pa shanté / èl na pa ankor shanté
SEY i pa'n sante / i pa ti sante
LOU li zame fâte
HAI li pa fâte
GWA i pa fâte
DOM i pa shante
MAR i pa chanté
STL i pa té chanté
TRI li pa té chanté
GUY i pa chanté
TAY la pa fâte

24. She will sing [Future construction]

MAU li pu sâte
REU èl i sar shanté / èl va shanté
SEY i pou sante
LOU li ale fâte
HAI l ap fâte / l a fâte / li pral chanté
GWA i ke fâte
DOM i ke shante
MAR i ké chanté
STL i kay chanté
TRI li ké chanté
GUY i ké chanté
TAY la va fâte

25. She will not sing [Negated future]

MAU li pa pu sâte
REU èl i shant arpa / èl i sar pas shanté
SEY i pa pou sante
LOU li pa ale fâte
HAI li p ap fâte
GWA i pe ke fâte
DOM i pa ke shante
MAR i pé ké chanté
STL i pa kay chanté
TRI li pa ké chanté
GUY i pé ké chanté
TAY fame la va fâte âko

26. She has (already) sung [Completive aspect; see also sentence 18]

MAU li n fini sâte / li fin fini sante
REU èl la shanté / èl la fine shanté / èl la déza shanté
SEY i'n (fini) sante / i'n deza sante

LOU li deza fãte
 HAI li deza fãte / li fãte deza / li chanté
 GWA i za fãte
 DOM i ja shante
 MAR i ja chanté
 STL i té ja chanté
 TRI li ja chanté
 GUY i ja chanté
 TAY la fini fãte

27. She hasn't (already) sung [Negated completive aspect]

MAU li pa ãkor sãte / li pa fin ankor sante
 REU èl la pankor shanté / èl la pa shanté
 SEY i pankor sante
 LOU li zame fãte deza
 HAI li poko fãte
 GWA i pòkò za fãte / i pòkò fãte / i pò'ò za fãte
 DOM i poko shante
 MAR i pòkò chanté
 STL i p'òkò té chanté
 TRI li pa té ja chanté
 GUY i pòkò/pankò chanté
 TAY la pa fini fãte

28. I will have fixed it on there before tomorrow [Future completive]

MAU mo pu fin atas li lor la avã dimẽ / mo pou fini fikse li avan dimen
 REU moin va pandiy ali anlér la avan domin
 SEY mon ti pou'n met li lao demen / mon pou aranz li lao demen / mon pou'n met li
 LOU m ap ale repere sa pu demẽ
 HAI m a(p) rãze l avã demẽ
 GWA ã ke rãze sa avã demẽ / avã demẽ, ã ke rãze sa / ã ke za rãze sa avã demẽ / an té ké
 pann li avan dèmen
 DOM mwen ke ja wepawe'y la avan denmen
 MAR mwen té ké pann li la avan dèmen
 STL mwen kay ni tan wanjé'y avan denmen
 TRI mwen ké wanjé i la avan dèmen
 GUY mo té ké kroché li isi-a avan dimen
 TAY avã demã matã, ma va atafe lja / ma fini atafe lja

29. The pockets [Plural with them]

MAU ban pos
 REU lo bann posh
 SEY bann pos
 LOU pɔf / la pɔf
 HAI pɔf (jo)
 GWA pɔf / se pɔf-la

DOM se posh la
 MAR sé pòch-la
 STL sé pòch-la
 TRI sé pòch-la
 GUY poch-ya
 TAY tule panje / tle panje / le panje / te panje

30. Albert and his group [Them as a "and co." marker]

MAU Alber ek so ban/group
 REU Albert èk son group / Albert èk son bann zouar / Albert èk son bann mizisien
 SEY Albert ek son group
 LOU alber e so grop
 HAI albe ak zāmi l jo / albé ak gwoup li
 GWA albe e se ta-j-la / albe e bād-a-j / albe epi banelo a-j / albe e sela-j
 DOM Albe ek bann li
 MAR Albè épi group-li / Albè épi kanmarad-li
 STL Albert épi gwoup li
 TRI Albert épi bann-li
 GUY Albè ké so group
 TAY sola pi alber

31. We should have remembered it [Should have expressed by either a) past marker+future marker, b) past marker+infinitive marker, or c) forms of should have]

MAU nu ti n bizē rapel sa/li
 REU i falé nou ré rapèl anou sa / i falé nou rté ansouvien anou sa
 SEY nou ti'n drwatet mazin sa
 LOU -
 HAI nu te dwe sōze l/sa
 GWA nu te (ke) dwet sōze sa
 DOM nou te pou shonje'y
 MAR nou té dwèt sonjé sa
 STL nou té sipozé chonjé'y
 TRI nou té dwè sonjé i
 GUY nou té divèt songé sa
 TAY nu deve pāse ke se aniverser pu lja

32. They asked me if I wanted it [Subordination with if]

MAU zot ti/fin diman mwa si mo ti (u)le li
 REU zot la domand amoin si moin té i vé ali / bann na la demand amoin si moin té i vé ali
 SEY zot ti demann mwan si mon ti oule sa / zot in demann mwan si mon anvī sa
 LOU je mādē mwē si mo ole sa
 HAI jo mādē m si m vle l / yo mandé mwen si mwen té vlé
 GWA jo (te) mādē mwē si ā te vle j/ sa
 DOM yo mande mwen si mwen te vle'y

MAR yo mandé mwen si mwen té lé-y
 STL yo mandé mwen si mwen té vlé'y
 TRI yo mandé mwen si mwen té vlé i
 GUY yé doumandé mo si to té lé l'
 TAY sola demãde a mwa si ma ule sa

33. Tell that man you're sorry [Complementiser derived from say or talk; prepositional give [see also sentence 21]; position of determiner]

MAU dir sa bug la to sori
 REU domand eskiz bonom la / domann boug la pardon
 SEY dir sa zonm pardon
 LOU di nôm-la t ape fagrẽ
 HAI di neg la u regret sa / di neg la eskize u / mandé padon misié sa
 GWA mãde bug-la padõ / di bug-la u ka eskize / mandé misié padon
 DOM di nonm sa la ou an to
 MAR di padon misié / mandé misié-a padon
 STL alé di nonm sala padon / di nonm sala padon
 TRI di nonm-sala ou désolé
 GUY di sa mouché-a pardon
 TAY le bõ pu ta demãde pardõ a blã-la

34. It's your uncle who's talking [Relativised clause marker; existential it's]

MAU se to tõtõ ki pe koze / to tonton la ki pe kose
 REU sé out tonton ki koz sanm ou
 SEY sa ou tonton ki pe koze
 LOU sa se to lõk ki e pale
 HAI se tõtõ u k ap pale (a) / se mñnõk u k ap pale (a)
 GWA se tõtõ-a-w ki ka pale
 DOM se mounonk ou ki ka pale
 MAR sé tonton-w ki ka palé
 STL sa sé tonton'y ki ka palé la-a
 TRI sé mononk-ou ki ka palé
 GUY a to tonton ka palé
 TAY se tõtõ pu twa sa le parle / se tõtõ pu twa sa la parle

35. She continually does it [Repetitious/continuous action marker]

MAU tultã li fer sa / li fer li nonstop
 REU toultan èl i fé sa / kan èl i fé sa, èl i arèt pa
 SEY i fer sa san sesman
 LOU li tuзу fe sa
 HAI li fẽ l tu tã / tutã l fẽ l / li fé'l san rété
 GWA i tuзу ka fẽ sa / i paka las fè'y
 DOM i toujou ka fè'y
 MAR i las fè sa
 STL i ka fè sa konstanman
 TRI li toujou ka fè i

GUY i ka fè toultan/san rété
TAY la fe sa tultã

36. How do people manage to live? [Habitual aspect marker; syntactic ordering in WH-questions [a]; see next sentence]

MAU kuma dimun fer pu viv?
REU koman domoun i fè po viv? / koman domoun i fè po viv konm sa?
SEY ki mannyer dimoun i arive viv?
LOU komò je kapab reste kom sa?
HAI kumã/kizã mun fe pu (jo) viv / kijan moun yo fè pou yo viv?
GWA kumã mun ka rive viv? / kizã mun neta viv? / kumã mun ka rive viv? / kijan sé moun la ka fè pou viv
DOM kouman moun ka bat viv
MAR koumannyè moun ka fè pou viv?
STL ki mannyè moun sa viv anba sa?
TRI ki mannyè moun pé viv?
GUY kouman yé ka fè pou viv / kouman moun-yan ka fè pou yé viv
TAY komã tle kanak sola arive pu viv?

37. Why can't you do it? [Syntactic ordering in WH-questions [b]]

MAU kifer to pa kapav fer li?
REU aköz ou gingn (gay) pa fé ali ?
SEY aköz ou pa kapab fer li?
LOU kumã/kizã u fe pa ka fe l
HAI kumã/kizã u fe pa ka fe l / poukisa ou pa ka fe'l ?
GWA puki u pa ka fe j? / puki u pa'a fe j? / puki u pe pa fe-j? / puki u pa pe fe-j? / poukwa ou pé pa fè'y
DOM poutji ou pa sa fe'y
MAR poutji ou pé pa fè-y ?
STL pou ki ou pa sa fè'y?
TRI pouchi ou pa sa fè sa?
GUY pou kisa to pé pa fè l'
TAY purkwa ta pa mwajã fe sa?

38. It's as though he's not coming here, isn't it? [Like meaning "it's as though"; tag forms]

MAU òdire li pa pe vin isi, nò/è? / kouma dir li pa pe vin isi, non?
REU andiré li sar pa vnir, ou di pa, ou?
SEY i paret ki i pa pe vin isi, non?
LOU li kom li pa ale vini isi
HAI se kom si l pa ka vin isi (a), (se) pa vre / òdire / gẽ le l pa ka vin isi (a), (se) pa vre / li gen lé pap vini, ou pa kwé?
GWA se kô si i pe ke vini, pa vre? / se kô si i pe ke vini, è? / se kôsidire i pa ka vini, ò? / ou té ké di i pé ké vin, ou pa ka kwè mwen ?
DOM se konmsidi i pa ka vini esi pa vwe?
MAR ou sé di i pé ké vini, saw di ?

STL sé konmsi i pa ka vini isi-a, ès pa?
 TRI sé konkisi i pa ka vini isi, pa vwè?
 GUY yé té ké i pé ké vini, to pa krè
 TAY òdire ke la malad

39. (Were you asking whether) I want to go with you? [Repetition for clarification with if; along(of) for "with"]

MAU (eski to ti pe dimãde sipa) mo ãvi al ek twa? / (to ti pe dimann mwa si) mo le vin ar twa?
 REU (ou domand amoin si) mi vé nir sanm ou?
 SEY (eski ou ti ape demande si) mon anvì al ek ou?
 LOU eske to mōde mwē si mo ole ale avek twa?
 HAI (eske) u mādè (m) si m vle al ave u / eske ou tap mandé mwen si mwen vlé vini avé-w
 GWA es u mādè mwē si ã vle ale eve u? / (ès ou té ka mandé mwen si) an vlé vin èvè'w ?
 DOM eske ou te ka mande si mwen vle ale eve'w
 MAR es ou té ka mandé mwen si man lé vini épi-w ?
 STL (ès ou té ka mandé si) mwen vlé alé épi'w?
 TRI és ou té ka mandé si mwen vlé alé épi ou?
 GUY (es to ka doumandé mo si) mo lé vini ké to
 TAY ma ule ale ave twa

40. Is there a church in this street? [Existential there is; see also sentences 6, 34 and 38]

MAU (eski) ena en legliz dā sa sime/lari la?
 REU nana in légliz dan la ri la ?
 SEY eski i annan en legliz lo sa semen? / i annan en legliz lo sa semen?
 LOU eske je gējē ē legliz dā la ru?
 HAI (eske) gē jō legliz nā zōn / katje sa a / eske gen yon légliz nan lari sa ?
 GWA es (ti)ni (j)ō legliz (ad)ā lari-lasa?
 DOM es i ni yon legliz asou lawi sa la
 MAR es ni an légliz adan lari ta la ?
 STL ès la ni an légliz asou chimen sala?
 TRI és i ni yon légliz nan lawi-sala?
 GUY i gen roun égliz annan sa lari-a
 TAY na ã leglis dā tribi-la?

41. They will soon be tired of fighting [Gerund expressed by infinitive]

MAU bjēto zot pu fatigue lager / zot pou fatigue lager dan enn ti moma
 REU tanto zot nora mar batay
 SEY zot pou fatigue lager byento
 LOU talē je ale las dā bataj
 HAI talē/tutalē jo ap rete/sispān/fatigue gumē / talé yo pral bouké goumen
 GWA tutalē jo ke las gume / jo kaj las gume tātō-tātō / yo ké las goumé talè
 DOM toutalē yo ke las goume

MAR byento yo ké las goumen
 STL yo kay las goumen talè
 TRI talè yo ké las goumen
 GUY talò yé ké las briga
 TAY sola va bjã to fatigue (de) bat

42. The dog of the man who lives in that house, is named King [Predicate with complex subject]

MAU lisjê sa bug ki rest dâ sa lakaz la (li) apel Kiñ / lisyen boug ki rest dan sa lakaz la apel King
 REU lo shien lo boug i arèt dan la kaz la i apèl King
 SEY lisyen sa zonm ki reste dan sa lakaz i apel King
 LOU lə ʃjê de nɔm-la ki reste dâ la məzō e pelɛ King
 HAI ʃjê nɛg ki ret(e) nã kaj sa a, rele kiñ
 GWA ʃjê a bug-la ki ka rete ã kaz-la-la, nɔ-a-j se kiñ / bug-la ki ka rete ã kaz-la-la, nɔ a ʃjê-a-j se kiñ / ʃjê a bug-la ki ka rete ã kaz-lasa la, nɔ a-j se King / non a chyen a nonm la ki ka rété an kaz la sa sé King
 DOM chyen nonm la ki ka wete an kai sa la, non'y se King (Wa)
 MAR chyen nonm-lan ki ka rété adan kay ta la, non-li sé King
 STL non chyen nonm-lan ki ka wèsté an kay sala, sé Wa
 TRI vyè nèg-la, ki ka wété an lakay-sala, yo ka kwiyé li King
 GUY yé ka aplé chyen bonnonm ka rété annan sa kaz-a King
 TAY ʃjã pu som sa sola reste (or viv) dâ mesō-la, nɔ pu lja se flik

43. Here's my book, and there's the library [Expression of demonstratives here is/are, there is/are]

MAU ala mo liv e ala bibliotek / ala mo liv, libreri la la ba
 REU arlala mon live, épi atér laba lo farfar liv
 SEY la mon liv, e la bibliyotek
 LOU isi mo liv, e la-ba e la bibliotek
 HAI mē liv mwē epi mē (la a se) biblijotek la / men liv mwen , men bibliotek la
 GWA la se liv-ã-mwē, e la se biblijotek / mi liv ã mwē, e la se biblijotek-la / mi liv an mwen é mi kaz-a-liv/bibliyotèk la
 DOM mi liv mwen epi mi laibri la
 MAR mi liv mwen, ek mi bibliotèk-la
 STL mi liv mwen, èvèk mi laybri-a la
 TRI mi liv-mwen, ék biblotèk-la la
 GUY mé mo liv, mé bibliyotek-a
 TAY wala liv pu mwa, wala sa pu twa laba

44. Did you walk here or run here? [Nominalizing and fronting verb for emphasis or contrast]

MAU (Eski) to ti marse pu vinn isi ubjê to ti galupe? / to fin marse oubyen galoupe pou vin isi?
 REU pou vnir isi ou la marshé oubien ou la kouri?
 SEY ou'n vin isi an marsan ouswa an tayan?

LOU eske to marfe isi o galope isi?
 HAI (eske) se mafe u mafe pu vin isi a ubjè (eske) se kuri u kuri / lé ou vini la, ou tap kouri oubyen ou tap maché?
 GWA es u mafe pu vini isi, ubjè es u kuri? / se mafe u mafe pu vini isit, obè se kuri? / ki jan ou vin koté sit: ou té ka maché oben ou té ka kouri ?
 DOM es ou mashe o kouwi esi a?
 MAR es ou maché pou vini isiya oben es ou kouri ?
 STL ès ou maché ében ès ou kouwi isi-a? / Ès ou maché pou vini isi-a ében ès ou kouwi?
 TRI és ou té maché pou vini isi ouben ou kouwi isi-a?
 GUY to vini isi-a ké maché ké kouri
 TAY kã ta vjã isi, ta marfe u ta kuri?

45. She ground the corn with a pestle [Instrumental construction expressed serially with take]

MAU li ti kraz maj ek en pilon / li fin kraz may la ek enn pilon
 REU el la kraz lo grin mayi avèk lo kalou
 SEY i ti kraz mai dan pilon / i'n kraz mai ek en baton pilon
 LOU li pile mai avèk pilò
 HAI li pile maji a nã jò pilò
 GWA i ka kraze gren-a-mais evè ò pilò / i ka pile majis evè ò pilò / i ka moulé grenn la èvè on pilon
 DOM i kwaze mais la ave yon pilon
 MAR i ka pilé grenn la épi an pilon
 STL i pilé mi-an adan an pilon
 TRI li pilé mayi-a épi yon pilon
 GUY i ka pilé louri ké pilon
 TAY la kupe lerm ave ã kuto / saje, la prã kuto epi la kupe lerm

46. I was so hungry, I almost died [Until/(so) till meaning "to the extent that"]

MAU mo ti telmã gap fè (ki) mo ti mãke mor / mo ti telman fen, mo manke mor
 REU mank inpe moin té mor la fin
 SEY mon ti telman lafen, mon ti pros pour mor / mon ti pe mor lafen.
 LOU mo te si fè, mo tu plys muri
 HAI m te (si) telmã grãgu m mãke muri / mwen manké mourri grangou
 GWA ã te telmã fè, ã te ka mò / ã te sitelmã fè, mwè mākje akaba / ã te sitelmã fè, mwè te tu mò / an manké mò fen
 DOM mwen te si fen, mwen mantje mo
 MAR man mantjé mò fen
 STL mwen té fen telman, mwen mantjé mò
 TRI mwen té telman fen, mwen matjé mò
 GUY mo manké mouri di fen
 TAY telmã ke ma tro fã, ma mãke de mor

47. They love each other [Expression of reciprocity]

MAU zot kõtã zot

REU zot i ème azot
 SEY zot kontan kanmarad
 LOU je lème un-e-nòt
 HAI jun rēmē lōt / yo renmen yo
 GWA jo ɛme jo / jo rēmē jōn lōt / jo kōtā jōn lōt / jo rēmē jo / yo enmé yo
 DOM yo enmen yonnelot
 MAR yo enmen yo
 STL yo kontan yonn a lōt
 TRI yo enmen yon-a-lōt
 GUY yé kontan yé konpagnen
 TAY dela jakā tro ule dela

48. He even had another horse [Another expressed by next or tra [< t'other]; even expressed by self]

MAU li ti mem ena en lot suval / en plis li fin gagn enn lot souval
 REU li lavé minm in ot shoval
 SEY i ti menm annan en lot seval
 LOU li te gē ē nōt fəval
 HAI li te mēm gē jō lōt fəval
 GWA i zis te ni ɔ nōt fival / i mēm te ni ɔ lōt fuval / i juk te ni ɔ lōt fuval / i té menm ni onnòt chouval
 DOM i te jis ni yon lot shouval
 MAR i té menm ni an dōt chouval
 STL i té jis ni an lōt chouval
 TRI li menm té tini yonlōt chouval
 GUY i té jouk gen roun ɔt chouval
 TAY na ā fəval pu lja, me janave de fəval pu lja me la fini vā lot

49. If you were still the leader [Expression of subjunctive by present indicative; expression of still]

MAU si to ti ākor sef / si to ti sef ankor
 REU si ou lété ankor lo komandér
 SEY si ou ti ankor lider
 LOU -
 HAI si u te tuzu fəf / si sé dirigan toujou ou té yé
 GWA si u te tuzu fəf / si u te mēne-la tuzu / si ou té toujou mèt-a-manniok/chèf la
 DOM si ou te met la toujou
 MAR sé ou té toujou chèf-la
 STL si ou té ka kondwi toujou / si ou sété mèt toujou
 TRI si yo té chèf toujou
 GUY si to té annan kéto
 TAY si se twa ki tufu fəf

50. I was merely chatting [Expression of merely, simply, just, only]

MAU mo ti nek pe kozkoze / mo ti selman pe koze
 REU moin té fē rienk kozé / moin té i koz solman

SEY mon ti ape zis koze
 LOU mo te zyst fare/pale
 HAI se sɛlmã pale m t ap pale / se pale m t ap pale sɛlmã / sé palé mwen tap palé asé
 GWA ãki pale ã te ka pale / se jiskõt koze mwê te ka koze / palé an té ka palé
 DOM mwen te ka anni koze
 MAR palé sɛlman man té la palé
 STL mwen annèk té ka kozé
 TRI mwen anni té ka kozé
 GUY a renki palé mo té ka polo
 TAY tja, se rjã, nude (rj)ãke parle kom sa, pu rigole

III. The NEXUS file used for input to SplitsTree

```

#nexus

BEGIN Taxa;
DIMENSIONS ntax=13;
TAXLABELS
[1] 'Mau'
[2] 'Reu'
[3] 'Sey'
[4] 'Lou'
[5] 'Hai'
[6] 'Gwa'
[7] 'Dom'
[8] 'Mar'
[9] 'StL'
[10] 'Tri'
[11] 'Guy'
[12] 'Tay'
[13] 'Fre'
;
END; [Taxa]

BEGIN Characters;
DIMENSIONS nchar=66;
FORMAT
    datatype=STANDARD missing=? gap=- symbols="01" labels=no
transpose=no interleave=yes;
MATRIX
0110100110110111010011000000000011100-01-1010001111111101101
11101101110101100111111101010000111000010100000111011111-000
000010011011010101101100010010011010010111011001110101101101
0101001000011111000000100110111000010001101001100-00010000?10
001101011000000010110000001110110011101100000110001110010000
101001000001101000111001111110100111101001101111001100010010
10100100100110-0101101100100110000110010-0100111000100010011
1010010010010010101110111011011111001001101110001100010001
1010011010001000001101001010010101110010-0101110001100010000
1010010000110000101110001111110110110011-0101110000110010010
00010010100001000101101?001010000000010111110100101100010001
1110110001010010-10-010?1101000000010001010-110?00001--?1000
11100110110111101100110111011000011001011100100-10111--0-000

110101
  
```

```
011111
110101
1-0000
010111
001110
101110
101110
101110
001000
101110
0-0000
0-01--
;
END; [Characters]
```